



Federal Bureau of Investigation
Intelligence
ASSESSMENT

(U//~~LES~~) State of the Domestic White Nationalist Extremist Movement in the United States

13 December 2006

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Prepared by

FBI

**Counterterrorism
Division**

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~~(U//LES)~~ State of the Domestic Extremist White Nationalist Movement in the United States

(U) Scope Note

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~~(U//LES)~~ This intelligence assessment provides an overview of the current state of the domestic white nationalist extremist movement in the United States. It examines the movement's problems and strengths as well as the likelihood it will carry out attacks. Information for this report is derived from FBI investigations and open source information.

~~(U//LES)~~ The information in this report is current as of October 2006.

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(U) This assessment was prepared by the Domestic Terrorism Analysis Unit of the FBI. Comments and queries may be addressed to [redacted]

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(U) Key Judgments

- (U//~~LES~~) The domestic white nationalist extremist movement in the United States is weak and fragmented. It is comprised of individuals and groups that have competing interests and personal or philosophical differences but maintain the capability to commit acts of violence.
- (U//~~LES~~) Not all white nationalist extremists pose a threat. More than 100,000 domestic white nationalists hold extremist views, but fewer than 500 have a penchant for violence.
- (U//~~LES~~) Distrust, a lack of unity and cooperation, and the absence of a single, strong leader are among the major problems confronting the white nationalist extremist movement. Groups cooperate and interact with one another, however, despite these issues.
- (U//~~LES~~) White nationalist extremist groups publicly disavow the use of violence but engage in contradictory activities and rhetoric.
- (U//~~LES~~) Clandestine small cells or individuals acting independently on the movement's fringe are more likely to commit acts of violence than overt, aboveground groups. These individuals are influenced, in part, by the hate-filled rhetoric of overt groups.

(U) Introduction

(U//~~LES~~) White supremacy and white separatism are extremist views on the fringe of the domestic white nationalist movement in the United States. This movement is not strong, unified, or cohesive; it is generally a loose association of groups and individuals faced with competing interests and personal or philosophical differences.

(U//~~LES~~) Members and affiliates of white nationalist extremist groups—those embracing supremacy and separatism—commit, condone, or support acts of violence in furtherance of racist and anti-government ideologies. White nationalist extremist groups include [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] White Revolution (WR); and the National Alliance (NA). Other white nationalist extremist elements include racist skinhead and Ku Klux Klan (KKK) groups.

(U//~~LES~~) [REDACTED]

(U//~~LES~~) White Nationalism and Extremism

(U//~~LES~~) To be a **white nationalist** is to be pro-white. The domestic white nationalist movement seeks to promote, honor, and defend the white race. They believe the white race is under attack from Jewish interests that dominate the government (referred to as the Zionist Occupied Government, or ZOG), the media, banking, and entertainment industries and act to the detriment of the white race. White nationalists view multiculturalism, diversity, and illegal immigration as direct assaults on the white race and race-mixing as akin to white genocide. They hope to appeal to mainstream whites, believing that the majority of white people do not understand the imminent or long-term threat to their race. Many contend that a race war, often referred to as RAHOWA, or Racial Holy War, is a certainty.

(U//~~LES~~) **White supremacists** believe that the white race is superior to all other races and was created to rule them. They view non-whites as subhuman and usually refer to them in derogatory terms.

(U//~~LES~~) **White separatists** believe the races should be separated and seek self-determination through their own society and government. They claim neither superiority over nor hatred of non-whites; they simply want to live apart. Not all white nationalists are supremacists or separatists, but all white supremacists and white separatists are white nationalists.

• (U//~~LES~~) [REDACTED]

- (U//~~LES~~) There are an estimated 5,000 Klansmen and 1,000 to 2,000 racist skinheads. The Southern Poverty Law Center identified nearly 40 KKK groups and approximately

33 racist skinhead groups in the United States in 2005.² Some of these groups no longer exist.

(U) Movement Strengths

(U//~~LES~~) Despite the overall lack of unity in the movement, groups do cooperate with and support one another. Rallies, demonstrations, and other gatherings often find Klansmen, neo-Nazis, Christian Identity (CI) adherents, Creators, skinheads, and others acting in solidarity. Demonstrations are usually held to protest specific national or local issues, including illegal immigration, homosexuality, or non-white crime. Rallies, such as the AN's World Congress, allow for recruitment and camaraderie. Crowds of 50 to 150 are considered a good turnout, but much smaller gatherings are generally the rule. The largest gathering in recent years occurred in August 2002, when more than 1,000 white nationalists participated in an NA-sponsored rally in Washington, DC.

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(U) Movement Weaknesses

(U//~~LES~~) Two closely related national-level issues—a lack of unity and the absence of a single, strong leader—confront the white nationalist extremist movement today. The lack of unity is caused by political and religious disagreements and personality differences within groups and between individuals. While cooperation among groups exists, it is not universal, and divisiveness remains.

(U//~~LES~~) There has never been a single, dynamic leader able to bring together all of the disparate parts of the white nationalist extremist movement. Even strong, charismatic leaders such as William Pierce (1933-2002) of the NA and Richard Butler (1918-2004) of the CJCC/AN, who exerted considerable influence outside their own groups, could not unite all factions. Pierce and Butler led their groups for more than 30 years and had considerable followings. Both were among the last of the longtime extremist leaders—the “grand old men” of the movement—and no one has emerged to fill the vacuum created by their deaths. There may be several reasons for

² (U) Southern Poverty Law Center, “Hate Groups Active in the Year 2005,” *Intelligence Report: The Year in Hate, 2005* (spring 2006).

³ (U//~~LES~~) FBI case information (UNCLASSIFIED)

this, not the least of which is that no current leader has the charisma of either man. Pierce and Butler kept their organizations at the forefront of the cause; without them, their groups have declined, the NA more so than the AN.

(U//~~LES~~) Feuding, distrust, and an overall lack of commitment are thus not surprisingly among the weaknesses confronting the white nationalist extremist movement. Many white nationalists view these issues as very destructive, and their concerns are widely discussed on Internet message boards. While the Internet has become an important tool of white nationalist extremists to recruit and disseminate information, it can also function negatively as a vehicle for airing complaints. Some in the movement reportedly feel that other members' extensive name-calling and negative comments make white nationalists look foolish and ineffective. Many individuals and groups are criticized for lacking commitment—existing only in cyberspace and claiming to be part of the movement but never attending rallies and demonstrations or distributing leaflets. Some KKK groups are even accused of consisting only of a name and a Web site. Despite recognition of the problems and calls to stop the infighting, feuding continues.

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(U//~~LES~~) Violence and Criminal Activity

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⁴ (U//~~LES~~) FBI case information (UNCLASSIFIED)

⁵ (U//~~LES~~) FBI case information (UNCLASSIFIED)

⁶ (U//~~LES~~) FBI case information (UNCLASSIFIED)

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(U) Sean Gillespie

(U//~~LES~~) A recent example of an individual being influenced by a group's rhetoric and then committing an act of violence is Sean Gillespie. On 1 April 2004, Gillespie firebombed a Jewish synagogue in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. He was 20-years-old at the time. Gillespie lived at the AN's Idaho compound beginning in 1999 where he heard the group's hate-filled rhetoric. Gillespie, an unaffiliated skinhead, was at war with "the system" when he firebombed the synagogue, and he did not care if he died carrying out the act. He wanted to be a martyr for the cause and be remembered as another Timothy McVeigh or Robert Mathews (leader of the 1980s terrorist group The Order who died during a gunfight with federal authorities at Whidbey Island, Washington, in 1984). Gillespie planned to commit attacks throughout the country; the Oklahoma City firebombing was just the beginning. He was arrested in Arkansas two weeks after the attack and sentenced to 30 years in prison in April 2005.

(U//~~LES~~) White nationalist extremist groups are also seeking retired or current military personnel for their expertise and training in weapons and explosives as well as their access to military ordnance and hardware. In July 2006, national media reported that neo-Nazi and white nationalist hate groups are "taking advantage of relaxed recruiting methods to . . . get combat training."⁸ Individuals with military training are sought not only for their ability to train other group members in tactical methods and weapons knowledge but also for their ability to follow orders.

(U//~~LES~~) Outlook

(U//~~LES~~) The white nationalist extremist movement will continue to be beset by the same competing interests and personal, philosophical, and other differences that affect it today. These problems cannot be quickly solved and there are no indications that any substantive efforts are being made to overcome them. It is also unlikely that any one person will soon emerge to unite the disparate factions. Divisions, therefore, may always exist within the movement, but they will have no bearing on the potential for individuals or small groups to commit violence.

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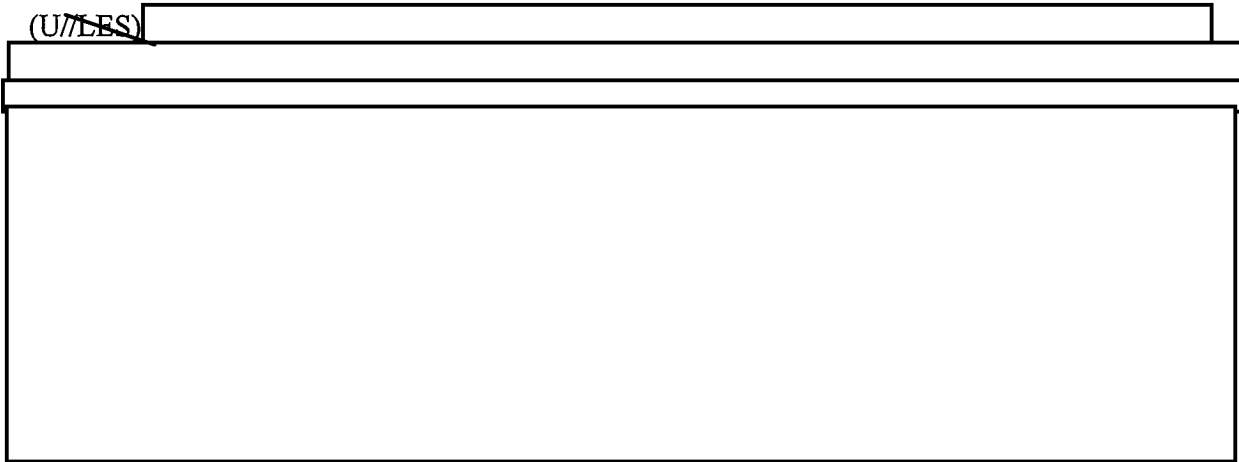
⁷ (U//~~LES~~) FBI case information (UNCLASSIFIED)

⁸ (U) "Neo-Nazis Infiltrating the US Military: Civil Rights Groups" (7 July 2006), AFP, available at <http://www.breitbart.com/news/2006/07/07/060707174439.0zkqbh7p.html>.

(U//~~LES~~) Paranoia over perceived efforts of the alleged Jewish-government conspiracy to destroy the white race and heightened racial tensions could lead to increased acts of violence by white nationalist extremists. A national uprising, however, as described in *The Turner Diaries* and envisioned by many white nationalists, is unlikely occur. The movement is simply not sufficiently organized. Most groups and individuals are content to pontificate about ZOG and the destruction of the white race and validate their existence by participating in rallies and demonstrations or posting messages to the Internet. Occasionally, however, someone will act upon these diatribes. The threat from the white nationalist extremist movement, then, is not from groups sponsoring acts of violence, but from individuals or small, autonomous cells acting upon the messages of hate espoused by these groups.

(U//~~LES~~) **Potential for Violence and Criminal Activities**

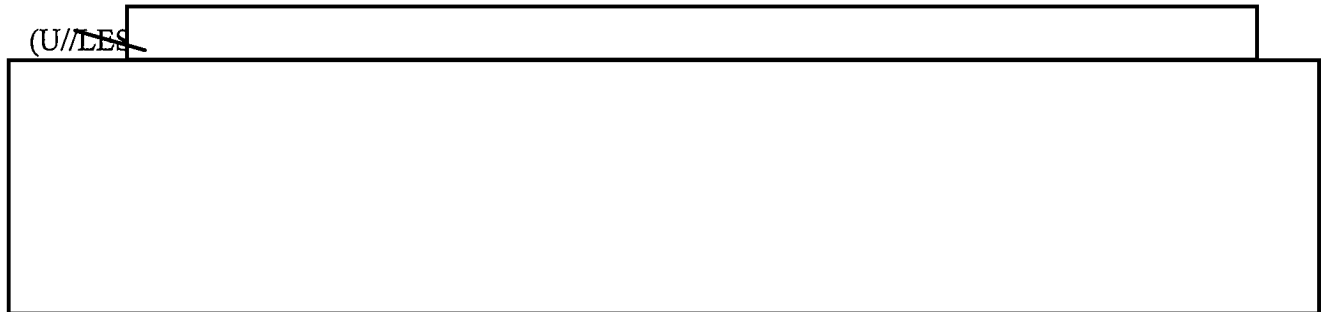
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(U//~~LES~~) Violence has always been and will continue to be an integral part of the domestic white national extremist movement. The level of violence in the movement has been relatively stable over the last five years but the movement is potentially more violent now due to the lack of controlling influences. Current leaders have neither the magnetism nor ability to control those violence-prone elements and may themselves be more accepting of violence. Skinheads and the skinhead mentality is increasingly becoming a part of the white nationalist extremist movement.

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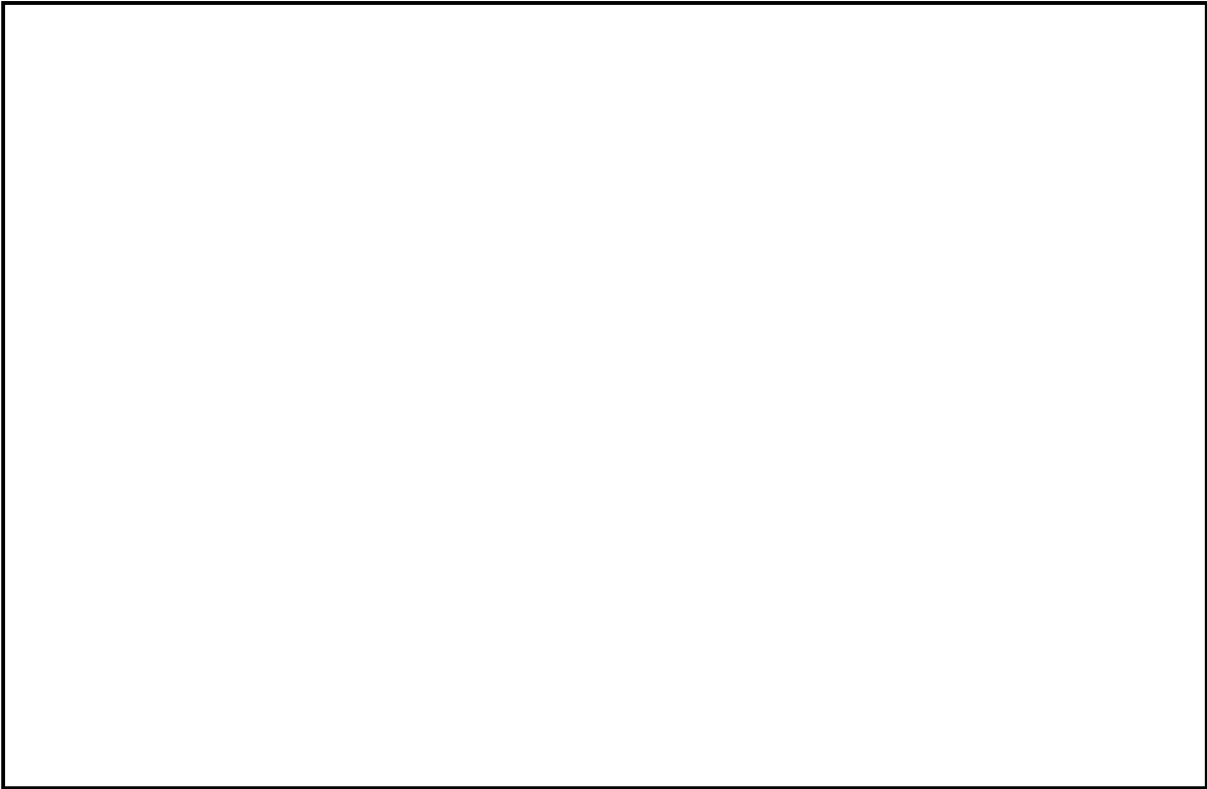
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(U) Intelligence Gaps

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(U//~~LES~~) Appendix A: Incident Chronology

(U//~~LES~~) Recent examples of violent or criminal activity by extremist white nationalists include:

- (U//~~LES~~) On 11 September 2006, former AN member Keith Gilbert was convicted of 11 counts of conspiracy and weapons violation. Gilbert was arrested in Seattle on 15 February 2005 and accused of selling weapons, including machine guns, to a federal informant. Approximately 100 weapons—handguns, rifles, and machine guns—were recovered during a search of Gilbert's residence following his arrest. Gilbert was involved with the AN in the 1970s but had a falling-out with Richard Butler. His lengthy criminal history includes convictions for a race-motivated assault, welfare fraud, and tax evasion. Sentencing for the weapons convictions is set for December 2006.
- (U//~~LES~~) On 13 April 2006, Demetrius Van Crocker, a former NSM member, was convicted of attempting to acquire chemical weapons and explosives to destroy government buildings. Van Crocker was arrested in Jackson, Tennessee, on 29 October 2004. He allegedly was interested in building an improvised explosive device to blow up a courthouse and was charged with various weapons and explosives charges, including the development, use, or threatened use of chemical weapons (sarin). Crocker was sentenced to 30 years in prison in November 2006.

- (U//~~LES~~) Seven members of a North Carolina-based Nations Knights of the KKK pled guilty in late March 2006 and mid-April 2006 to various weapons, explosives, and other charges. In addition, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] four group members have already pled guilty in this case. [REDACTED]

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- (U//~~LES~~) On 20 May 2005, Gabriel Carafa and Craig Orlor, members of the neo-Nazi, racist skinhead group The Hated, were arrested in New Jersey. Both were charged with weapons violations, including possession of a weapon by a felon, after they allegedly sold 10 rifles and shotguns and a handgun to a state undercover agent. Carafa had also reportedly expressed a willingness to have an explosive device made, and he allegedly purchased several components, including 60 pounds of urea. Carafa, a reported leader in Matthew Hale's CM organization, pled guilty to weapons charges on 1 May 2006. Both

¹¹ (U//~~LES~~) [REDACTED]

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men were sentenced in September 2006: Orler received 130 months in prison and Carafa 80 months, and each was fined \$2,000.

- (U//~~LES~~) On 21 April 2005, Morris Gulett and Charles Thornton were arrested in Louisiana and charged with conspiracy to commit armed robbery and possession of a weapon by a felon. Gulett was the leader of the Church of the Sons of Yahweh/Sons of Liberty, a Louisiana-based CI group, and Thornton was a group member. Gulett reportedly wanted to commit out-of-state bank and/or armored car robberies to raise funds for his organization. Both men subsequently pled guilty, and on 2 May 2006, Gulett was sentenced to 72 months in prison and Thornton to 60 months.
- (U//~~LES~~) On 6 April 2005, CM leader Matthew Hale was sentenced to 40 years in prison for soliciting the murder of US District Court Judge Joan Humphrey Lefkow. Hale's group had lost a copyright lawsuit filed by an Oregon-based organization and was ordered not to use the name World Church of the Creator (WCOTC). Judge Lefkow upheld the ruling upon appeal.
- (U//~~LES~~) In January 2005, Daniel Judge, a CM member, was charged with first-degree murder and armed violence for the stabbing of two African-American brothers in Joliet, Illinois. One of the brothers died, and the other was hospitalized. Judge was convicted on 20 January 2006 and is awaiting sentencing.
- (U//~~LES~~) Steve Holten, the AN's Nevada state leader, pled guilty in federal court on 29 November 2004 to one count of mailing a threatening communication in interstate commerce. He was arrested in late September 2004 for having sent threatening e-mails to various individuals in Nevada and California. He was sentenced to ten months in prison in March 2005 and has since been released.

~~(U//LES)~~ Appendix B: White Nationalist Extremist Groups

~~(U//LES)~~ [REDACTED]

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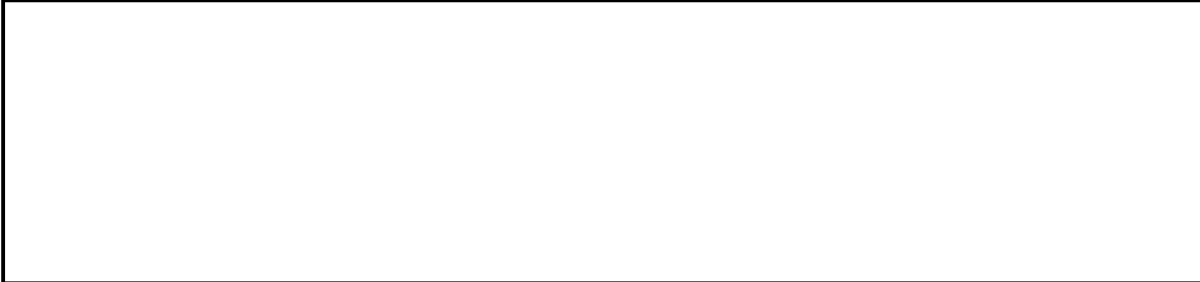
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~~(U//LES)~~ *National Alliance and National Vanguard*

~~(U//LES)~~ The National Alliance (NA) was founded by William Luther Pierce in 1974. It was formed from the remnants of the National Youth Alliance, which Pierce took over in 1970. In 1985, the NA moved its headquarters from suburban Arlington, Virginia, to rural Hillsboro,

West Virginia.¹² In 1978, Pierce, under the pen name Andrew Macdonald, authored *The Turner Diaries*. This book is regarded as a bible in the white nationalist extremist movement and has influenced many, including Timothy McVeigh. The NA under Pierce became one of the largest, richest, most active, and most influential far-right groups.

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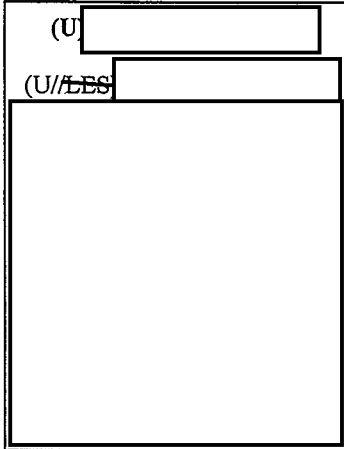


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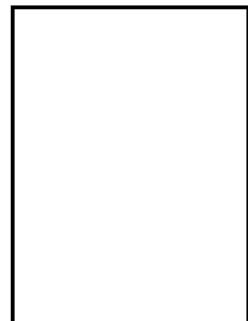
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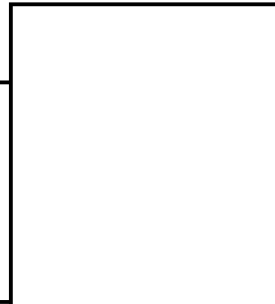


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(U//~~LES~~) White Revolution

(U//~~LES~~) The Arkansas-based White Revolution (WR) [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Pierce's death in 2002, [REDACTED]

for the white nationalist extremist movement [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] initially successful in these endeavors [REDACTED] but has become less so recently. While [REDACTED] WR members continue to attend events and affiliate with different groups, WR is not as active in sponsoring events. [REDACTED] may have hoped [REDACTED] but did not do so; [REDACTED] not viewed within the movement [REDACTED] Active group membership is estimated to be approximately 75.

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